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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

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TEACHER AND ADMINISTRATOR ROLES IN
THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS

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PRESSING ROOM

W. B. BROOKOVER, *Issue Editor*

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SEPTEMBER 1955

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

PUBLISHED BY

THE PAYNE EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED

OF

RHO CHAPTER, PHI DELTA KAPPA

AT

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON SQUARE

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is published by The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc., monthly from September to May, inclusive. Publication and business office, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y. The subscription price is \$3.00 per year; foreign rates, Canadian and South American, \$3.25, all others, \$3.40; the price of single copies is 35 cents each. Orders for less than half a year will be charged at the single-copy rate.

Entered as second-class matter September 27, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is indexed in *Educational Index*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, and *Business Education Index*.

The publishers of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY are not responsible for the views held by its contributors.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 29

SEPTEMBER, 1955

No. 1

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Social role theory and related research tools are increasingly being used in research on the positions and behavior of school personnel. Extensive programs of such research are currently under way at Harvard University, Stanford University, The Midwest Administration Center at the University of Chicago, and in other Cooperative Projects in Educational Administration. Numerous other studies are also in progress. In the light of this development I asked the authors whose research papers appear in this issue to present them to the Educational Sociology section of the 1954 American Sociological Society meetings.

The Committee on Educational Sociology of the National Council of College Teachers of Education devoted their 1955 meeting to an assessment of research on the social roles of teachers. The paper, "Research on Teacher and Administrator Roles" is an outgrowth of that meeting. Our discussion of this research is not an evaluation in any sense. Rather we indicate areas in which studies have been made and suggest some additional types of needed research.

Although the research reported in the other papers may not be typical of the work being done in this field they represent some of the areas being explored. These studies grow out of somewhat different theoretical approaches, but there is a common element of role conceptualization. They demonstrate that role theory provides a framework for fruitful research on teacher and school administrator behavior.

The authors appreciate the opportunity to present these five papers as a unit in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*. It is hoped that the presentation of a number of the *Journal* devoted to research in this field will stimulate further research designed to increase understanding of school teachers and administrators.

W. B. BROOKOVER

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RESEARCH ON TEACHER AND ADMINISTRATOR ROLES

W. B. Brookover

Social role has a wide variety of meanings in anthropological, sociological and social psychological literature and research.¹ This is no less true of research concerned with school teachers and administrators.² An analysis of research in this field, therefore, requires some clarification of the various usages of the role concept. We have sought to do this by means of a conceptual schema showing the relationship between several aspects of role phenomena. Following this we will examine some of the research dealing with teachers' and administrators' behavior in terms of the schema.

Clarification of the various meanings of role must recognize a range from structural concept generally identified as status to the idiosyncratic particular role behavior. The conceptual paradigm diagrammed in Figure 1, is designed to assist in understanding the relationship between status, role, actor, role behavior, self-involvement, and related concepts that have been used in what is broadly known as role research.

This paradigm and the discussion of the research is presented as a tentative assessment of research in the area and to stimulate discussion of both the theory and its use in educational research. Through this process it is hoped that research on the roles of teachers and school administrators as well as other types of role research will be more meaningful.

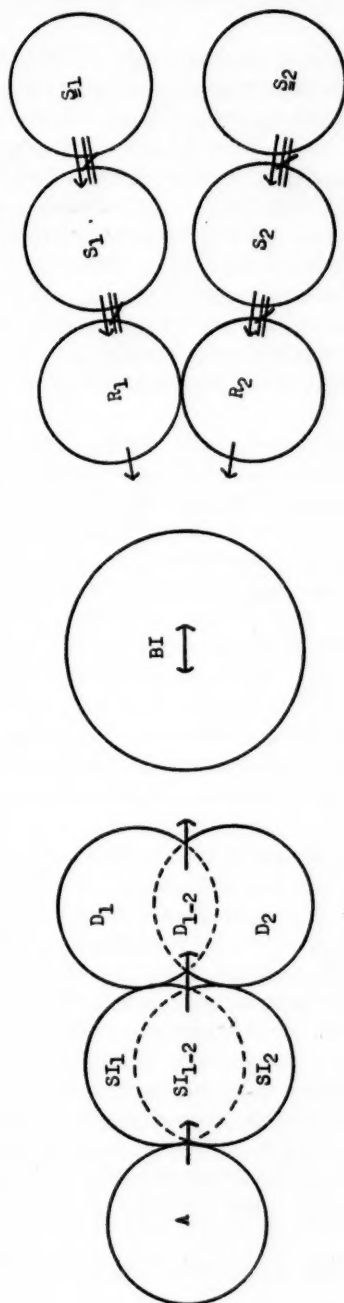
As we look at the total behavior situation involving roles and role-taking, we start with the assumption that these are meaningful only in a social interaction situation. The concept role involves an actor in relation to others in particular social groups. In this context we examine the possible concepts involved in role behavior indicated in the paradigm (Figure 1.).

From the point of view of the group, we start on the righthand side of Figure 1. Members of any group have general expectations which apply to a person occupying a position or status in the group. Thus members of a family have some general expectations of the persons occupying the position of father, mother, daughter, or son.

¹ See Neiman, J. Lionel, and James W. Hughes, "The Problem of the Concept of Role—A Re-survey of the Literature," *Social Forces*, Vol. 30, 1951, pp. 141 ff.

² Giventer, Edwin, *Defining the Teacher's Role*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College Library, New York, 1953.

FIGURE 1: PARADIGM SHOWING VARIOUS ASPECTS OF ROLE BEHAVIOR AND ROLE CONFLICT



A = Actor, as he enters situation, with his previous experience in related situations, personality needs, and meaning of the situation for him.

SI = Self-involvement—actor's image of the ends anticipated from participation in the status as he projects his self-image into the role.

D = Actor's definition of what he thinks others expect of him in the role.

BI = Actor's behavior in interaction with others which continually redefines R and D.

R = Role—Others' expectation of actor, "A" in Situation, "S".

S = Status in situation—Others' expectations of any actor in particular situation.

S = General Status—Others' expectations of any actor in broadly defined position, i.e., teacher.

In the same manner, a group of teachers, parents, or students have general expectations of the teaching position. These general expectations are applied to any person occupying the position in all appropriate situations. We are using *S* to identify this aspect of role phenomena. The paradigm indicates that two groups may have different expectations S_1 and S_2 . Generally *S* expectations describe the group's definition of normative behavior for persons occupying the position. Although we have used the term status, some researchers have used role to refer to the same concept.

It should be noted that each significant group may have a different set of expectations associated with teaching. The *S* for the teacher status may be different among a group of teachers than among a group of students or parents.

The second circles on the right of the diagram may be identified as status in situation, *S*. We may define this as a group's expectation of any person occupying a status in a particular situation. These expectations are frequently similar to the general expectations and flow from them but differ in many respects. For example the general expectations may be modified when applied to the history teacher in X school. Still other specific expectations may apply to the position of botany teacher in X school which are irrelevant to the history teacher position or unimportant in the general teacher expectations.

This distinction between *S* and *S* is sometimes overlooked. General teacher expectations are applied to specific teacher situations with little or no modifications. Both have been identified as role, but we use different symbols to distinguish between the two levels of status expectations.

The third circles from the right in the paradigm, identified as role or *R*, refer to a group's expectations of a particular actor in particular situations. This is a modification of the *S* expectations when applied to Mary Jones, the actor in a particular position. When Mary Jones first assumes the position of history teacher in X High School, *R* may be essentially the same as *S*, but as the group interacts with Mary Jones, the history teacher, it may modify and refine its expectations of her in a particular situation. The role expectations of John Doe occupying the position of history teacher in X High School would be different. Thus the specific expectations are varied in interaction with different actors in the particular position and situation. Furthermore students, parents, or other teachers may change their expectations of Mary Jones the history teacher as they interact with her from time to time.

This suggests the further hypothesis that a group's *S* and *S*

expectations may also be modified as they interact with a particular actor. Thus the patrons' expectations of the history teacher in X school, and of teachers in general, may be changed as a result of their interaction with Mary Jones.

We turn now to the left hand side of Figure 1. The first circle in the paradigm here is used to identify the actor as he comes into a particular social situation. The actor generally brings to the situation a set of previous experiences, certain drives, and perceptions related to this or similar statuses. Along with this he has meanings for symbols which seem appropriate to the situation. Thus his meaning for such symbols as teacher, parent, student, school, class, and variety of others are brought to the behavior situation.

It is apparent, of course, that each actor has different experiences, needs, and perceptions relevant to the situation. Mary Smith brings one set to the position of history teacher at X school and John Doe another. Furthermore it must be recognized that the actor's experience, needs, perception and meanings are constantly changing. In each new behavioral situation A is different than in previous ones. The nature of the actor is a factor in each interactional situation in which behavior occurs.

As will be noted in the paradigm, the next concept is identified as SI, or self-improvement. It may be defined as the actor's self-image, as he projects himself into the particular status or role. It includes his anticipation of need satisfaction, rewards, punishment and related phenomena as he occupies the status in this situation.

Self-improvement will vary with the group in which the actor is participating. A particular teacher for example may have little self-involvement in the students' expectations, but a great deal with those of his fellow teachers. Thus in accord with reference group theory, an actor may be a member of a group but little concerned about the degree to which his behavior fits the norms or expectations of that group. While a group whose members barely include the actor may be extremely important to him, in this case his self-involvement in the second or reference group influences the actor's behavior more than the first membership group.³

It must also be recognized that an actor's self-improvement may change. A promotion may change his relationship with the teachers, reduce his needs, and greatly modify his self-involvement with the

³ See Merton, Robert K., and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," pp. 40-106 of Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (eds.), *Continuities in Social Research*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950.

teacher group. Failure to receive an expected promotion may on the other hand result in withdrawal from the group. Some of the research on teachers defines role to mean essentially the same as our concept self-involvement.

The last concept related to role that should be distinguished from others is labeled D in the paradigm. This is the actor's definition of R — his understanding of the others' expectations of him as he occupies a particular status in the group. The similarity between the actor's definition and the role expectations depends upon the clarity of the communication which the actor has with others. In some cases he may have a distorted understanding of what others expect, and behave differently as a result of his inaccurate definition. As an actor enters a new behavior situation, he may apply definitions acquired in other groups to the new group situation. In this case, there may be discrepancies between D and R.

It should be noted also that the actor's definition of others' expectations may vary with his own needs or perceptions as well as with his self-involvement in the status. He may have relatively little interest in or concern about the particular group's expectations of him. This may affect his understanding of their expectations. It also hypothesized that the actor's definition of the role will change considerably as interaction in the group occurs. Communication goes on constantly and if others expectations change, definitions of those expectations will also change.

The central circle in the paradigm, labeled BI, refers to the actor's behavior in interaction with members of the particular group involved in the role defining situation. This is the behavior of the actor as he takes the role with the idiosyncratic variations that result from his particular self-involvement and definition of the role. The actor's personality is his behavior as seen by others and himself in such interactional situations.

One of the significant characteristics of behavior in interaction is that it is always in process; it is not fixed or static. It involves redefinition of D and R as interaction between the actor and the others occurs. Both Grambs' and Waller's analyses of teaching roles fail to recognize this process and assume that role is imposed upon the actor.⁴ Others, like Palmer,⁵ assume that the actor determines the

⁴ Grambs, Jean D., "The Sociology of the 'Born Teacher'," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 25, May 1952, pp. 532-41 and Waller, Willard *Sociology of Teaching*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932.

⁵ Palmer, Josephine, *Role Concepts of Prospective Teachers of Young Children*, Columbia University Teachers College, 1954.

role expectations of others. As communication occurs, new expectations and the actor's understanding of them replace previous expectations and understandings.

Some recent research has analysed incompatible or conflicting role expectations of school positions. The paradigm is designed to clarify some of the problems involved in such research. This paradigm is designed to indicate that two distinctly different sets of expectations S_1 and S_2 may not be defined as different role expectations by the actor. As two incompatible sets of status expectations are applied to specific situations and to specific persons in the interaction situations and to specific persons in the interaction situations the incompatibility may be mediated. Much of what appears as incompatible to the outside observer at the S , S , or R level of expectations may be seen as compatible by the actor. An examination of the research in this field reveals that the assumption is sometimes made that incompatible S 's are automatically incompatible D 's. The overlap of the SI and D circles is designed to suggest that this may not be true. If this were not so, it would be practically impossible for persons to function in two or more incompatible S 's or R 's. In fact, however, numerous people have demonstrated that they can behave in such situations. They find ways of mediating the incompatibilities in the expectations of two or more groups, as they occupy a particular situation. They may have little self-involvement in one or the other of the group expectations and so disregard this to some extent. Some actors may also define the apparent incompatibilities as compatible. In other situations, they may shift rapidly from one role expectation to another, so that they succeed in achieving behavior acceptable in both.

In many such situations American society rewards those persons who are able to mediate in an acceptable manner apparently incompatible roles. This is characteristic of successful administrators and many teachers. Especially needed is research on the means by which these apparent incompatibilities are solved by and/or for the actor.

We turn now to a brief resume of research and some suggestions for further research. We use a classification of the research that emerges from the paradigm presented above.

The first classification might be identified as a catalog of the teacher and school administrator roles, with little or no differentiation between the S , S and R types of expectations. The first studies in this category are some general descriptions of status or role expectations. Among these are the work of Waller, Mead, Grambs, Wilson,

and Znaniecki.⁶ These involve the expectations of several groups such as the community, colleagues and students.

A second classification would be the studies of *S* expectations. The work of Greenhoe, Terrien Gross and Mason, and Shipton and others illustrate community expectations of this type.⁷ With the exception of Terrien, these people have included some analysis of school boards' expectations. In many respects these are similar to those of the community they represent. Within every community, however, there may be significant sub-group variations in the expectations of teachers and administrators. Middle-class and upper-class people may have different *S* expectation than lower-class people. Although this has been hypothesized frequently there is little empirical research which defines or identifies such differences. It should be noted also that there have been many descriptive reports of community and school board expectations which have little empirical research basis.

Limited studies have been made of students' expectations of teachers. Wayne Gordon's work reported in this issue and some of the writer's work illustrate this type of analysis.⁸ An implicit assumption that all students have similar sets of teacher expectations has also been made in some of these studies. It would seem important to identify significant sub-groups of students with varied expectations of teachers. Such variations may be found among sex, age-grade, and special interest groups as well as among students from families with varied positions in the social structure. We would hypothesize that teachers who are aware of the possible variations in the expectations

⁶ Waller, Willard, *op. cit.* Mead, Margaret, *The School in American Culture*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. Grambs, Jean D., *op. cit.* Wilson, Logan, *Academic Man*, London: Oxford University Press, 1942, and Znaniecki, Florian, *Social Roles of the Man of Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

⁷ Greenhoe, Florence, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. Terrien, Frederic W., *The Behavior System and Occupational Type Associated with Teaching*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, 1950. Gross, Neal and Ward Mason, "Some Methodological Problems of Eight-hour Interviews," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 59, 1953, pp. 197-204, and James Shipton and associates, unpublished "Bay City" study underway at Harvard University.

⁸ Gordon's longer study, to be published by Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, is available as Wayne Gordon, *Social System in a High School*, Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University Library, St. Louis, 1953. See also W. B. Brookover, *A Sociology of Education*, New York: American Book Company, 1955, parts IV and V for discussion of this and other aspects of teacher roles.

which students have of them would be more likely to communicate effectively with their students.

This classification of status or role studies also involves expectations of the teacher's professional colleagues, including the administrators. There have been numerous classifications of teacher ratings by administrators but there are no analyses based upon role theory. The reverse of this, however, has been examined by the Midwest Center at the University of Chicago. Bidwell's study in this issue examines teachers' expectations of the administrators and the degree to which the administrators fulfill these expectations. The work of Conrad and others at Stanford, Terrien's work reported in this issue and elsewhere, as well as that of Seemans, and Greenhoe are relevant at this point.⁹ In varying degrees, these people have analyzed teachers' expectations of persons occupying positions like their own. These have generally looked at teachers' *S* expectations and have not applied them to specific situations or to specific teachers.

Throughout the studies which describe the general status expectations or role expectations, there has been little effort to distinguish between the three levels we have identified. There is some evidence¹⁰ that differences occur in these three levels of expectations. The failure to analyze the various levels of expectations no doubt results from the fact that the generalized status expectations can be abstracted and analyzed with relative ease but the more dynamic role expectations are difficult to identify and describe. Although it is not likely that we will be able to identify the multitude of idiosyncratic variations in specific role expectations, it is important to discover the ways in which *S* and *R* vary from *S* and each other. All students of the school situation are aware that neither community groups, teacher groups, or student groups expect Mary Jones the history teacher in X school to behave in all particulars like they expect teachers in general to behave. We do not know the factors associated with this variation in expectation or the factors associated with the degree of tolerance that a Mary Jones may have within the generalized teacher expectations.

⁹ Richard Conrad, *The Administrator Role: A Sociological Study of Leadership in a Public School System*, Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University Library, 1951. This is the first of several studies being made at Stanford University. Terrien, Frederic W., *op. cit.* Seeman, Melvin, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, 1953, pp. 373-380. Greenhoe, Florence, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Although not clear, some evidence is suggested in data from The Michigan Communication Study. This is a cooperative project of the Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago and Michigan State University.

Some research seems to assume that generalized status expectations, role expectations, and behavior in interaction are essentially equivalent.¹¹ If this were true each actor would be molded in the pattern expected of all teachers or at least any teacher occupying the specific status. This leaves no place for the actor to redefine the role or status expectations. Both the conditions under which the status or role is fulfilled by essentially identical behavior in different situations and the conditions under which teachers can change their role behavior and perhaps modify the group's expectations must be identified. There is no known research in this area.

In a similar fashion, some researchers have assumed that the actor's self-involvement, his definition of the situation, and his behavior in interaction are essentially the same or so closely related that they may be equated. Palmer¹² seems to equate the teacher's self-involvement with her definition and the group's role expectations. This is the reverse of the previous assumption. Here again we do not know to what extent and under what conditions the teacher can impose her definition on others in the behavior situation. If, as we suggest, both D and R are continually redefined in interaction, the teacher's self-involvement and definitions have an impact on the role expectations, but do not control the latter. We know little about this relationship or conditions under which the teacher may bring about a modification of others' expectations.

Another type of research involves an analysis of teachers' personalities as they enter the position. An inventory of the beliefs, value orientation, needs, and experiences which characterize new and experienced teachers would be valuable in training and selection as well as placement. A similar inventory of the various types of self involvement and the definitions which teachers have of their role expectations is also needed. A number of studies which bear upon this problem have been made, but few if any are related to role theory.¹³ A much more extensive analysis of teachers as actors is necessary before we achieve a thorough understanding of their role behavior.

Several studies have also concerned the self-involvement of teachers in some situations. The work of Chase, Seeman, Washburne and Useem and Gibson as well as the Palmer study mentioned earlier are

¹¹ See Grambs, Jean D., *op. cit.*, Willard Waller, *op. cit.*, and Margaret Mead, *op. cit.*

¹² Palmer, Josephine, *op. cit.*

¹³ See, for example, Symonds, Percival M., "Dynamic Factors Contributing to Personality Formation in Teachers," *Education*, Vol. 63, January 1943, pp. 616-26.

significant at this point.¹⁴ Here again, we have only begun the research on the satisfactions expected in teaching and the self-image which teachers have as they project themselves in their various roles. In addition to the work mentioned, there are numerous case studies and analyses of attitudes toward teaching which are relevant but not directly applicable to role theory.

Few studies have concerned themselves with the teacher's definition of role expectations. A major portion of Terrien's¹⁵ study involves definitions of the community's expectations, but greater understanding of the range and type of teacher definitions is essential. Work in progress at Stanford is analyzing types of teachers self-involvement and definitions of role expectations.¹⁶ This also involves the degree of divergence or convergence between the group's role expectations and the teacher's definition of the role. The numerous unhappy teachers and administrators as well as board members and parents suggest that an understanding of the divergence between the community's role expectation and the teacher's definition of them is essential. We have no satisfactory studies of factors relating to divergence between role expectation and the teacher's definition; neither do we know the means by which such divergence can be resolved in the interaction process.

The assumption is commonly made that a divergence between teachers' behavior and the parents' and administrators' expectations is related to teaching effectiveness. At least board members, administrators, and community groups frequently justify dismissal of teachers for failure to behave in the expected manner. Such teachers are no doubt ineffective in learning to behave as the others expect them to, but it may not follow that they are ineffective in teaching

¹⁴ Chase, Francis S., *Factors Productive of Satisfaction in Teaching*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Illinois, 1951. Melvin Seeman, *op. cit.* Washburne, Chandler, *Involvement as a Basis for Stress Analysis: A Study of High School Teachers*, Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Michigan, 1953. The Washburne study is part of a larger project nearly completed by the Social Research Service of Michigan State University. It has examined the nature of stress in school administrative, as well as other administrative, positions. John Useem and D. L. Gibson are Co-chairmen of the Project Committee.

¹⁵ Terrien, Frederic, *op. cit.*, and paper in this issue of *Journal of Educational Sociology*.

¹⁶ Some reports of this work are completed or near completion, but publications are not yet available. Robert Bush, School of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, California, can provide further details of them.

youth the accepted types of behavior. No studies of this important and commonly held hypothesis are known.

Related to this is the problem of analyzing the range of teacher behavior permitted in various situations. Some have suggested that the range of tolerance in role expectations has increased greatly in recent years. There is little evidence upon which to support or deny this postulate, but an understanding of the teaching position requires an analysis of the degree of tolerance permitted in the teacher role in the various significant community, professional, and classroom groups.

Earlier we mentioned the fact that there has been some research on the degree of incompatibility and conflict between two or more general status expectations, specific status expectations or role expectations. The work directed by Gross and that by Getzels and Guba reported in this issue and earlier are of great significance in this area.¹⁷ Gross' studies are concerned with the conflicting status expectations and include some analysis of the way in which the conflicting expectations are mediated in the interactional behavior situation. Getzels and Guba have examined conflicting status expectations and the relationship of these to self-involvement.

Further research is necessary to identify areas of conflict and the conditions under which they are perceived by the observer, the teacher and both. Teachers or administrators who perceive little or no conflict in role expectations where others observe them may behave quite differently in the interaction situation than do those who perceive conflicts. Research is needed to distinguish between teacher behavior under these two sets of conditions. It is also important to note the relationships of conflicting role definitions to effectiveness of teaching or other measures of success in teaching or administrative positions. It is possible that contrary to common belief some role incompatibility is associated with some measure of teaching success.

Research designed to discover the ways in which conflicting role expectations are solved would likely suggest the means of mediating role expectations and teachers' definitions of these expectations. This suggests that observation of teachers' behavior as they interact in various groups may be a fruitful method of research. Just how do

¹⁷ Getzels, J. W., and E. G. Guba, "Role, Role Conflict, and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 164-175. Neal Gross has an extensive study of role behavior and role conflict of school administrators newly completed at Harvard University. Gross and Mason, *op. cit.* is a preliminary report on this project.

teachers and administrators behave in various types or role situations? How then is their behavior in one situation related to that in others? Also how is it related to their effectiveness as teachers?

One final type of research seems to the writer to be worthy of consideration. We have indicated at various points that research on the relationship between teachers' role behavior and the learning of the children is essential. Perhaps of equal importance is the analyses of the impact of a teachers' role-taking on her own personality. Terrien, Waller, Brookover, Washburne, and Symmonds in works previously mentioned have considered the impact of role expectations on teacher personality, but much more careful research is needed. Closely related to this is the research on how to train teachers so that they can effectively adapt to the many expectations of them and maintain acceptable personality adjustment.

No doubt many other types of research in this area will occur to the reader and many will know of research completed or in progress that has not been mentioned. Perhaps, however, this brief analysis and review will stimulate wider discussion and more significant research. The following papers present various types and combinations of types of research mentioned above.

W. B. Brookover is Professor of Social Science and Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University.

THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLES OF TEACHERS

Frederic W. Terrien

Society needs to have its work done, and in its own massive way, sets about dividing up the labor, clarifying the tasks, designating the rewards, and finding people to fill the various jobs. As societies become increasingly complex, the tasks become more and more specialized, finally taking on the qualities of institutions. As such, they seem no longer to be entirely subject to the persons who perform them, but rather to **take on characteristics** which appear to be supra-individual. When this happens, they play a part in the selection of the people who do the work, and to a considerable extent, control their behavior. This is how occupational roles come into being.

In 1949, an extensive study was undertaken by the author in an eastern city to test the hypothesis that an occupation could act to channel the behavior of its adherents into a recognizable system both on and off the job, and correlatively, could determine an occupational type among those adherents.

Testing the hypothesis required an occupation where in the nature of the work done was distinctive and where the requirements laid upon the individuals doing the work was specific. Further, it was necessary to find a calling which retained its followers, and drew them from several socioeconomic groups. These requirements seemed best met by the professions and of these, teaching seemed most nearly to satisfy the further structure that the individuals under scrutiny have similar experience, allegiance, and working conditions. Accordingly, a series of deep interviews was conducted with a randomly selected ten per cent sample of the approximately 1000 teachers in the schools of what we shall call Port City. Extensive inquiry was directed toward the activities, attitudes, goals, patterns of life organization, and beliefs of these teachers. The central hypothesis — that behavior is channeled into systems, and that an occupational type is determined — was substantiated. This paper which reports only a portion of the larger study, is concerned with the forces in the community which combine with the processes of behavior-system formation and occupational typing in the profession of teaching to define the occupational role of the teacher.

More particularly, this report concentrates on these community forces as seen by the teachers. The literal definition of these forces as defined by the community has been reported on elsewhere by this

writer,¹ but it is believed that the forces most important in the immediate determination of occupational role are those felt and defined by the occupational group itself. Any individual or group may have difficulty in acting according to the *real* expectation of its milieu, but it will have measurably less difficulty in approaching a standard of behavior which it understands, or thinks it understands — however closely that understanding may approach reality. We are concerned, then, with the teachers' own conceptions of the expectations of the community. Only a portion of the findings of the study can be presented in this paper, but we will outline the chief reactions of the teachers to the setting in which they found themselves.

Since we have no basis for knowing to what extent Port City teachers were like those in other communities at the time, some description of the group is appropriate. About 80 per cent, like teachers across the nation, were female. The few Negro teachers approximated the proportion of Negroes in the city. Port City is predominantly Catholic, and 60 per cent of the teachers were Catholic. The teachers were all native born, but only 80 percent of the general population were native. The majority of the teachers came from middle and lower class families that were markedly upward mobile.

A wide variance in educational preparation was found among Port City teachers; about half had no degrees, just over one-third had bachelors' degrees and all but one or two of the remainder had masters' degrees. Only 47 per cent of all the teachers in the system were or had been married, and only 37 per cent of the females had been married — a figure which contrasts strikingly with the fact that 91 per cent of the females of comparable age in the United States have been married. The teachers married three or four years later, on the average than the majority of people in the United States. In general, they married persons with less formal education than themselves and nearly all married downward occupationally, according to the United States Census classification. While nearly half the teachers came from families in which there were four or more children, about 40 per cent of the married teachers had no children at all, and no married female teacher had more than two children. Nearly all teachers below high school level were, at the time of this study, paid \$3300 per year; those at the high school level were paid \$4100. The median figure for time in service was about 21 years.

¹ "Who Thinks What About Educators," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIX, No. 2, September 1953.

Port City teachers were notably a home-owning group — perhaps half again as many of them owning their own homes as did persons in Port City's population. This, then is the general picture of the interviewees.

What were the social forces, as seen by the teachers, which tended to determine their occupational role? For clarity of definition, these forces may be subsumed under three familiar societal processes. These are: (1) collective behavior — the tendency of human beings in groups to act and think alike; (2) social control — the organization of group relationships and the establishment of power nodules; and (3) status and role — the formalizing of positions and functions resulting from the successive action of the first two processes.

One of the several characteristics of the teaching profession which sets it apart from other professions and has the effect not only of prescribing the behavior of its adherents, but also of severely limiting that behavior, is the small range of variation in the social situation which its practice presents. At the very inception of the teacher's career, the teachers' college offers, in the view of the interviewees, something of a world apart. If the ordinary college is a specialized institution, somewhat removed from reality, the teachers' college is a speciality among specialities, offering a rigid course of training to a group of people whose contemporaries in age are enjoying the flexibility and wider horizons of less limited courses of study. From this training, the novice enters a world of children over whom he or she must exercise unaccustomed authority, and with whom the teacher is confined between the unlikely hours of eight in the morning and three-thirty in the afternoon. When the teacher goes to work, she travels in a different direction from the majority of the city's workers, and when she returns, she does so at a time when most people are still in their places of business. As one teacher phrased it, "You don't get out and meet people." As a consequence of their rigid course of training, and the paucity of their contacts, many of the teachers interviewed felt that they had awakened rather late to the potentialities of life — to find, in a period of shock the more bitter because of its delay, that life was passing them by.

It is possible, when among children, to preserve the illusion of youth; many teachers cited as one of the compensations of their occupation the idea that it kept them young. The effects of such preservation, however, are more often apparent with reference to the spirit than to the body. Tissues age no matter how bouyant the emotions. Hence, the whole matter of mating is one which members

of the teaching profession, a predominantly feminine occupation, do not solve in a satisfactory manner. An astonishingly high proportion of the women were living with elderly parents, or sharing a home with another unmarried female. Such limitations create what one teacher described as a "general lack of earthiness." They lived, as another phrased it, in a kind of "Adamless Eden." The suspicion arises that they may almost envy the more unconventional individuals among their charges who have those experiences about which many teachers have only second-hand information. And it seems to be clear that this pattern is one largely conditioned by collective behavior, in no sense forced on the teachers by a lack of those characteristics generally supposed to be prerequisites for marriage. If subjective judgment may be applied, the female interviewees seemed to this writer to be, if anything, superior to the average woman in charm and appearance. There may, indeed, be a factor underlying the rather superior appearance of the teachers which militates against marriage. Their appearance may be the reflection of a generalized desire for self-improvement inculcated by their upward-mobile families which redounds to their disadvantage by making them relatively unwilling to take a husband from among the limited choices which their contacts afford them.

One of the more dominant influences observable among the interviewees was the security principle. One teacher stated that many of her group, despite their frequently successful efforts to attain higher degrees, were willing to endure low salaries because "they want the satisfaction of a definite check every month." A corollary of the emphasis on security is a desire to avoid those actions which threaten security, particularly actions which tend to "buck the system" and pit the interests of the individual against those of the employer. As a consequence, the teachers appeared, to the detached observer, to support in action if not in words the very policies which held them, as they seem to believe, in check.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of this tendency was the fact that 62 per cent of the teachers interviewed were willing, after four or five years of specialized training to go to work at a wage lower than was being paid common labor in Port City, the *mirabile dictu*, that 54 per cent were willing to accept as a maximum salary an amount less than that fought for by the leaders of the Teachers' League and already guaranteed by the system's existing contracts. In a time when material wealth is multiplying as never before in history, and when the culture is saturated with material values, such a collective self-evaluation by an occupational group must stem from a degree of adherence to the security principle which is truly remarkable.

If positive and negative sanctions are the chief instruments for social control, it can be said that the teachers were only uncertainly aware of what sanctions the community placed on them or would be likely to exercise. They were, however, comfortably aware of the principle sanction, the positive one of function. Whatever the attention paid to a particular school or to the well-being of specific groups of teachers, the citizens believe that the work of the teacher is important to society, and the teachers know this. As Znaniecki has stated, "the school of general education . . . as an institution of the modern society serves directly the maintenance of the social order." Yet despite their comfort with reference to the importance of their work, only 32 per cent of the interviewees thought themselves well rated by the community. About 70 per cent believed in some degree that the public expected some sort of different, or "better" conduct from the teaching group than it expected of other groups. Only half thought this special stricture justifiable. Very few felt that they were making an effort to live according to out-group preconceptions.

Considering the age of the interviewees, their lack of sophistication with regard to the presence of and possible manipulation of political sanctions in the community, since their effective control extends only over those who are themselves nearly powerless, but the amount of money they spend and the number of jobs they control are items which bring about the exercise of power in relation to them. About two-thirds of the teachers appeared to feel that the maintenance of good relations with some political or religious group *might* be wise with regard to their careers; only a third rejected the idea, though just over half stated that such relationships did not affect their own cases. Evidently, the concept violated their own ideals.

The group did not show itself eager to make personal contacts with those who might most seriously affect their careers; only a fifth of the group stated that they knew members of the Board of Education. Most of the group seemed reasonably well aware of the hierarchy of officials whose judgments affected their advancement, but half expressed doubt that the officials in question knew enough about their work to judge it properly. When the group was asked if teachers might be active politically if they so desired, 89 per cent answered positively in some degree, yet 87 per cent had not been active in politics. Quite a number of the teachers appeared, in answering questions in this area, to be upholding a principle which they had no desire to test; it is possible to surmise that there existed a belief that while political participation beyond mere voting was legal and perhaps moral, it was nonetheless unsafe.

One of the chief sanctions which the teachers felt was exercised on their activities by the community involved student discipline. While the great majority of teachers believed that the students themselves liked their teachers, the then-current condition of discipline was a source of distress to all. For some reason, perhaps fear of political reprisal, there was no apparent general policy and no source of appeal in the system with regard to discipline. The children were well aware of this deficiency, and consistently spoke and acted with great freedom — challenging the teachers to do what they could in such conflicts. One of the teachers stated that parents backed the children in the assertion of their "rights," and many felt that this intransigence accounted for the unwillingness of the system's hierarchy to support the individual teachers. The latter, in turn, did not have the threat of non-promotion to hold over the children, since the schools were so overcrowded that promotion was automatic.

Whatever the changes apparent to sensitive writers and optimistic scholars with regard to the status of education, educators themselves still have an uphill battle to achieve a level of recognition comparable to that accorded persons in other professions, or appropriate to one with the preparation generally required for entry into their field, or to their own estimate of what they deserve. Historically, the position of American teachers, has not been high. Emerson has noted that "there goes in the world a notion, that the scholar should be a recluse, a valetudinarian — as unfit for any handiwork or public labor, as a penknife for an axe." DeToqueville commented on the intellectual life in the new country, saying, "There is no class . . . in America in which the taste for intellectual pleasures is transmitted with hereditary fortune and leisure, and by which the labors of the intellect are held in honor."

The status of educators suffers particularly from the intangibility of their product. The results of education not only cannot be guaranteed — other than statistically — they are difficult to assay when at hand. By contrast, the work of other professions is more tangible. If a man is ill, he can go to a doctor, and the doctor will cure him. If a man is in trouble, he can go to a lawyer, and the lawyer will extricate him — but if a man is stupid, and he goes to a teacher, the teacher can do little for him. The teacher offers no product which can be called up and delivered by his own efforts. His work always depends upon the cooperation, the hard labor, even, of the person who applies to him. Thus, the credit for the successful use of the teacher's product is rarely given the teacher, but is instead seized

by the user. An examination is passed, not because of the teacher who imparted the necessary knowledge, but in spite of the teacher.

Finally, while the role of teachers is fairly well established — tied in, as it is, with their important function — it is painfully clear that their status, or "position with relation to the total of society," remains unresolved. Because of their important role, they are the carriers of "certain super-mundane values." The status of teachers is somewhere on a continuum. At one end they are the cultural surrogates, and as such, have "power" in the primitive sense of the word. They operate in the realm of thought, where they cannot be controlled — hence they are to be suspected and feared. At the other end of the continuum they are the housewives of the culture — the ones concerned with maintenance and continuity, and hence the conservators. They have the role often assigned in primitive societies to old men, the aged and the infirm — that of trainers of children. But most of all, they are the sanctioning agents for the young, the guardians of morals, the arbiters of conduct, and it is in this status that they are remembered by all adults from their own childhood. In truth, teachers constitute a kind of conscience in society, and their status is that of the conscience — recognized as fundamentally important, but neglected as much as possible.

Clearly, there is no single course of action which will alter the occupational role of teachers, but it is evident from the shortage of persons to fill teaching jobs that it is not an attractive role. The general impression which arises from the replies to the extensive survey here reported in part is that teachers conceive of themselves as loyal, non-aggressive, somewhat martyred public servants. They appear to differ from the average American in that they lack a really positive conception of self. Their future, they believe, depends upon the public conscience, and on their own actions. This is hardly in keeping with either their needs as individuals, or the needs of society.

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THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

C. Wayne Gordon

This paper will examine some of the complexities of the teachers' role in the social structure of the high school.¹ The analysis will be primarily concerned with those aspects of social organization which impinge directly on the teacher in the classroom.

This discussion will rely chiefly on a previously reported study of the social organization of a high school.² Wabash is a four-year high school with a student population of 576 in a detached suburb of a midwestern metropolitan community. Lower middle class members predominate, but all socio-economic levels are significantly represented. There is diversity of socio-economic levels to confront the teacher with a sufficient status range and power system to introduce maximum complexities related to social class which have been reported in other school and community studies.³ The number of students is sufficiently small to permit the development of a social system in which the members interact sufficiently with one another to establish a clearly defined set of relationships which have a stable character.

Data on the teacher are from three major sources: (1) school records, (2) two hundred personal documents written by upper grade students on their school careers with special reference to classroom performance, (3) the writer's field diary as a participant observer and classroom teacher in the Wabash school system for ten years.

¹ The concept of a role used here is that of Parsons, Talcott and Edward A. Shils, with the assistance of James Olds, "Values, Motives and Systems of Action," in Parsons and Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 190; and Theodore M. Newcomb, "Role Concepts in Social Psychology." Paper delivered at the 1948 meetings of the American Psychological Association; Gross, Neal, and Ward S. Mason, "Role Conceptualization and Empirical Complexities." Paper delivered at the 1953 meeting of the American Sociological Society.

² Gordon, C. Wayne, "The Social System of a High School." (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1952). The complete study will be published by the Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois. A portion of this study was reported in a paper presented to the American Sociological Society, 1953.

³ Hollingshead, August B.: *Elmtown's Youth*, 1948. Warner, W. Lloyd, Havighurst, Robert J. and Martin B. Loeb. *Who Shall Be Educated?* Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1944.

The Structural Context of the Teachers' Role. The Wabash study revealed three major aspects of the high school organization to be relevant to an analysis of the teachers' role. Viewed as systems of expectations which define behavior they are: (1) the formal organization of the school which prescribes learning achievement, (2) the system of student organizations usually referred to as extracurricular activities, and (3) the network of interpersonal relationships defined by the friendship choice referred to here as the informal system.⁴

The chief general finding of the Wabash study was that the dominant motivation of the adolescent was to achieve and maintain a generalized social status within the organization of the school. General social status is regarded as the position held as a consequence of the various specific statuses he achieves throughout his high school career. At the action level, the dominant motivation of the adolescent will be to accept the roles of the informal group. This view suggests that the orientation of the individual is best understood and predicted given his position within the general system of action in the school-wide social system; for instance, the classroom behavior will be conditioned by his relation to his peers which introduces a general tendency to conflict with those performances which the teacher seeks to define. We are not proposing a simple dichotomy between the formal expectations and those of the informal group, rather two definitions of the situation compatible at times between teacher and students and having varying degrees of acceptability among students.

Implication for the Teachers' Role: Sources of Strain. The structural context of the school presents the incumbent of the teacher's role with the task of continuous integration and adjustment of conflicting expectations. There was a significant range of adaptation among teachers in their capacity to harmonize the conflicting tendencies. There also was a great range in the amount of personal anxiety teachers experienced in relation to their efforts to carry on the teaching function. It is further noted that some typical modes of adaptation are made by teachers over a period of years, as they routinized their functions in such a way as to minimize the amount of personal stress which they experience in a situation of endemic conflict.

(The institutionally prescribed function of the teacher is to insure the enactment of roles related to learning achievement according to a specified range of standards.) The range of standards defined by the

⁴ The formal-informal distinctions used here are those used by C. I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 73.

grading system represents the instrumental goals of the system. Viewed within the achievement-ascription distinction proposed by Talcott Parsons, the high school primarily defines achievement values and roles both as a functioning institution and in relation to the socialization of its members to a technical social order.⁵ The task of the teacher is to insure the essential performances. By virtue of her adult status, her personal orientation to knowledge, and as custodian of the institutionally prescribed tasks, the teacher tends to seek performances from the students according to the standards somewhat higher than those which the adolescent group will set for itself. There results an incompatibility in the learning output norms which the teacher seeks to resolve.)

In spite of the competitive-achievement orientation of the high school, the teacher is confronted with powerful ascriptive tendencies within the system. The Wabash study reveals the same ascriptive influences of the social class system which have been reported by Warner, Hollingshead, and others.⁶ The drive for ascriptive rewards operates both at the value level which introduces subjective biases in the grading system and at the power level in which teachers assign rewards and punishments with the awareness that direct and indirect consequences may result from not doing so. Hollingshead demonstrated the tendency for teachers who originated from the local community to be able to ascribe success to members of the higher socio-economic groups because they "understood" the backgrounds of the students.⁷ The Wabash data show likewise that the longer a teacher worked in the community the more likely he was to accept the social class controls of the community in his assignment of rewards and punishments. The values of the teacher which define rewards in relation to achievement determine that consciously ascribed success usually is attended by personal conflict.

The clearly defined status system in the informal student group which coincides somewhat with the social class system and extends itself through differential participation also generates potent tendencies for the most prestigious group to be ascribed success.

A further basis of conflict for the teacher arises in relation to the basic conflict in educational philosophy which expresses the influence of the competitive achievement social order to insist on a product from the high school which can be rated and labeled according to his

⁵ Pattern variable distinctions used through the paper are those used by Parsons, Talcott, *The Social System*.

⁶ Warner, *Ibid.* Hollingshead, *Ibid.*

⁷ Hollingshead, *Ibid.*

Prin. conflict / achievement/capacity on the one hand and the influence of educational theory with a concern for the personality development within the learning experience which poses for the teacher the obligation to ascribe minimum success as an investment in the personality development of all students and particularly the least advantaged ones.

1. inst. *(2)* *The Authority System.* Comment on the authority system will be confined to the role of the teacher as intermediate between students and principal. The duty of the teacher is to maintain order both as a condition for learning and because it symbolizes her competence. Teaching competence is difficult to assess, but disorder is taken as a visible sign of incompetence by colleagues, principal, parents, and students. In a situation of conflict the teacher has constant anxiety for his ability to control. A significant amount of conflict results from the requirements of the two sets of expectations which operate in the classroom, those presented by the teacher and those which the informal system defines.

Interaction within the student group is the most frequent cause of conflict between the authority of the teacher and the expectations of the informal group. The teachers' definition of order makes many of the actions within the student group a threat to authority. Teachers tend to accept noise, confusion, humor and horseplay to a point where it becomes a challenge to authority. Consequently, talking, whispering, inattention, may be viewed as a challenge to authority. In one year there were 81 cases of students being sent from the classroom to the principal's office for discipline. Of these 33 were for disturbance of the group, 27 were for talking without permission, and 14 for talking back to the teacher. The other 7 involved a variety of reasons. The reasons given by teachers are not necessarily the real cause for such action. They are rather symptoms of strain in teacher-individual student or teacher-group relationships. They are both an indication of a mode of adaption of teachers to the informal group structure and the adaptation of students to the teacher's definition of the expectations of the classroom.

Since eviction from class is a serious crisis in the relationships of students and teachers, eviction is a conservative index of the real conflict which occurs. The classroom situation may be characterized roughly as: (1) conflict of sufficient crisis proportion to result in eviction, with the enlistment of the principal's office to resolve it; (2) conflict of crisis proportions in which the teacher absorbs the conflict without resort to the principal; (3) conflict is minimized or nonexistent as a result of the way in which the teacher articulates the requirements of both the formal and informal groups.

Reasons for absorbing conflict in the classroom have been discussed by Howard Becker in connection with the tri-partitate relation to authority among students, teacher and principal.⁸ The extent to which the principal will support the formal expectations of the system by an exercise of authority will determine the kind of authority role the teacher may assume in the classroom. Students and teacher alike seek to avoid the crisis of eviction from the classroom. It affects both the status of the teacher and student in relation to the formal authority system. Student evictions affect student status because they become a factor in grading, establish a formal record of non-conformity, and may result in expulsion from the group. Teacher status is likewise adversely affected. When the burden of classroom control is shifted to the office of the principal, it calls attention to the problems which he usually prefers not to have made public beyond the classroom. Changes in the exercise of authority from the principal's office result in a greater diffusion of power throughout the school system among both teachers and pupils. In Wabash the number of classroom evictions over a three-year period were for successive years respectively 160, 81, and 50. (Reduction in the number of evictions was related to the dissemination of a rumor among the teachers that "the principal has a little black book in which he records the number of students which teachers send to the office. When he gets ready to rate your teaching he looks in the little black book and decides your salary increase for the next year.") It appeared that the greater the support the principal gives the teachers' authority, the more likely the formal institutional role of the teacher will be utilized to coordinate the classroom. The less willing the principal is to support the teachers' institutional authority, the more likely that the teacher will absorb conflict in his classroom role, and the more likely he will be to resort to personalized leadership, and face a situation of endemic conflict. Waller has pointed out the hazards of personalized leadership because only the virtuoso can sustain it.⁹ The personality of the teacher under such a situation will be exposed. An additional consequence is to shift a balance of power into the hands of the students. Here differentials in status among teachers will affect their ability to exercise power and their sense of adequacy since the ability to control is equated with the ability to teach. The Wabash study shows that least secure teachers in tenure are the ones least

*principal
impl. etc.*

⁸ Becker, Howard S.: "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, November 1953.

⁹ Waller, Willard: *The Sociology of Teaching*, 1932.

likely to be supported by colleagues, principal, parents, and the most likely to attack from students.

Teacher Role and the Informal System. In Wabash the teacher role was conditioned by the fact that he faced in the classroom a system of student organization which was differentiated by grade rank, grade achievement, sex, social class, and prestige cliques which were value differentiated by their participation in both the formally organized and informal student culture. The system as mentioned above exercised a potent influence over behavior. The dominant motivation was to accept the role of the informal group or differentially defined roles within value differentiated cliques or simply the role of subordinate to an overwhelming status system by the unincorporated and incorporated members. There was a consequent muting of action in this direction of teacher-presented expectations.

The teacher perspective of the classroom is one in which behavior is defined according to an ideally conceived classroom situation in which performances approximate the ability and knowledge of the students. According to this perspective discussion operates in ping-pong fashion between teacher and pupils and among pupils limited only by consideration of knowledge and limitations of personality. The teacher accepts the personal limitations of pupils as part of the educational situation. The student understands the teacher's perception of the situation and rules of its operation. However the students of variously rated performance and those of the informal group; namely adolescent in relation to same sex and opposite sex, "dater-nondater", athlete-nonathlete, "brain", "big wheel" or "nonwheels" and "fruits" (derogated group), clique member, and isolate. Each of the above labels defines roles which incorporate expectations counter to those of the teacher. Teacher defined roles which are not accepted result in strain in the role of the teacher. The teacher with insight into the informal system may articulate both sets of roles in such a way as to fulfill the requirements of the teacher with a minimum of disturbance to the informal group. The unsophisticated teacher may lack the insight and technique or both to harmonize the two systems. He may attack the status system head-on and precipitate conflict.

The informal system with its congeries of ingroups operates as a personalized system of relations significantly motivated by affective response. The teacher as the authority who controls the system seeks to control the system in the direction of affective neutrality. As the co-ordinator of the system, custodian of the formal sanctions, and dispenser of scarce rewards, he tends to increase or reduce the total anxiety of the incumbents of the system by the use of varying amounts

of expressive affect in the communication process. The security and protection which students are afforded within the clique and congeniality groups may be adequate to the needs of the students. Furthermore, it may be disrupted by the way in which the teacher manipulates the reward system. The tension and anxiety is reduced by the manipulation of the symbols or gestures of varying and affective content by the teacher. Thus he will afford the maximum security to students if he expresses and bestows at least a minimum of esteem on every student. Evidence from social class and school studies suggests that teachers display a wide range in the amount of esteem and affective response for various categories of students. (The Wabash drop-out of 30 per cent appeared to be directly related to the least esteemed and disesteemed students.) We are suggesting that an adequate conception of motivation for the teacher is that which has been demonstrated in the studies in industrial sociology. The problem in the teacher's role is that he sometimes accepts the significance of affective response in maintaining student morale and motivation toward his objectives within an institutional framework based on a sanction and reward system of hedonistic psychology. The accompanying ambivalence constitutes a dilemma. He must define goals for students who are widely different in value orientation to his expectations. (There is also a discrepancy between the values of the teacher and the students.) The teacher will tend to present and express the values of the able minority without impunity from the formal authority system. However, the values of his professional role decree a 100 per cent consensus on the goals he presents. If he cares for the consequences, he will have anxiety over the lack of interest on the part of the least motivated group. He will be led to strenuous efforts to sustain the interest of the group with the resulting charge on his physical and emotional resources and the necessity to reduce the stress may be considerable. *Value Conflict*

TEACHER ROLE IN RELATION TO STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

We have mentioned the function of participation in student activities as a means for defining the general status of the student in the schoolwide informal system. The result is a status system with a powerful ascriptive tendency. (The teacher may accept this system dominated by "big wheels" or she may insist on the achievement values of the institutional system with its narrow deference range admitted in the classroom among superior to failing students.) To reject the status system of the students is to risk the sanctions of the informal group. *From Informal System*

A second tendency of the system of student organizations which results from the extreme differentials in the amount of participation among most active and least active students is the differential association which is produced among most active students and teachers and least active students and teachers. The differential association results in diffuse affectively toned relationships with some students in contrast to specific affectively neutral relations with the nonparticipants. The result is to particularize with those he knows well in the distribution of rewards and apply universalistic standards with greater affective neutrality in the distribution of rewards and punishment to least active, least known students. For instance, Freshmen make lower grades because teachers know them much less well in addition to the usually accepted fact that they are less sophisticated in the grade getting culture. We seem to need a distinction between grade getting and grade achievement. By achievement we mean quality of performance and by grade getting the loss of objectivity which accompanies personalizing relationships as well as the student's manipulation of the teacher in the assignment of rewards which accompanies the process.

more involved
The more involved the teacher becomes in the student activity program, the more likely she is to be influenced by the particularistic tendencies. When he does he violates the standards of the universalistic or "fair" teacher defined by the institutional values and professional ethics of the teacher. He faces conflict with students in either case.

more involved
The teacher who is not involved in the student activity program will be less sensitive to the status differentiation of the informal system and therefore more universalistic with all members. Lacking the personal influence of association he may risk the conflict with the politically potent informal student group. He may likewise gain the esteem of the "underdog status" group.

More attention needs to be given to other than social class factors in teacher student relationships. For instance, in Wabash Miss Jones was generally regarded to be an able scholar who had high performance expectations of students. She was considered to be "fair", i.e. "just" in her grading by most students. But reputation of "fair" tended to be qualified by members of different groups. Upper middle class members sometimes thought her "unfair" because she resisted social class ascriptive tendencies. Lower class thought her very "fair" because she practiced a not too subtle form of "underdog" ascription. It should be noted that she was by origin of working class background. Mr. Higby on the other hand who affected a manner of

rigid universalism was thought by lower class members to be "unfair" and by all to particularize in favor of more attractive physically mature girls.

TEACHERS' ADAPTATIONS TO THE STRUCTURE

comp.
The foregoing discussion of the complexities of the teaching situation adds up to a situation of continuous stress in the teachers' role. An adaptation to the conditions of the situation leads the teacher to seek to adjust the various pressures in order to protect his personality. Adjustments tend to be worked out privately or in intimate congeniality groups. The problems of the classroom are not shared on a colleague-wide basis due to the competitiveness of the status system among teachers. The success ideology of the school states that "successful teachers do not have problems," therefore the most disturbing problems of the teacher tend to be regarded as unique to his situation and therefore are private. His greatest anxieties are not expressed. The teacher perspective with its failure to incorporate the reality of the social structure in which he works prevents him from seeing problems as a consequence of this generic structure. Such a perspective would be necessary in order that teachers define problems as general rather than special and private. Such a solution is necessary to relieve high school teachers of the sources of anxiety in the role and socialize them to the reality of the social structure of the high school within an analytical framework which may replace the current moralistic evaluative one.

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THE STRUCTURE OF ROLES AND ROLE CONFLICT IN THE TEACHING SITUATION

J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba

It is safe to say that there are more constraints and demands upon the teacher than upon almost any other member of the community.¹ While the "goldfish bowl" status of the teacher has undoubtedly been exaggerated in many instances, it is nevertheless clear, and to the teacher somewhat disquieting, that teachers do have a high degree of visibility within the community. So for example, the teacher may be required to reside only in a certain approved neighborhood. He may be forbidden to use tobacco — at least he must not be seen using it. His political affiliations may become the subject of administrative scrutiny. His religious practice, certainly a matter of private conscience for most Americans, may become a public concern. And, perhaps worst of all, while the teacher is generally conceded to be a specialist in a particular sphere of activity, nearly everyone feels free to exert pressure and make demands on how he shall function in his own field of specialization.

These manifold expectations are a matter of vital concern not only to the teacher, who must somehow cope with them, but also to the community, which may be quite unaware of what it is doing and of the effect that the expectations are creating on its teaching personnel. The entire problem of the relationship between school and community as represented by the demands made upon teachers by their so-called "patrons" is a crucial issue for empirical investigation. The present paper is an attempt at such an investigation and focuses on three major issues: (1) The nature of the expectations attaching to the teacher role, (2) the extent of the conflict among these expectations, and (3) the differential effect of such conflict on the teachers as a function of certain personal and social characteristics.

THE PROBLEM

In a recent series of articles² the authors adapted sections of the role theory proposed by Parsons, Shils, and others³ to formulations amenable to empirical work with what seemed to be considerable success. With respect to the study of the teaching situation, these formulations point to the following questions, among others, for

¹ Robert Ulrich recently described the role of the teacher in succinct terms. See his "On the Role of the Teacher," *American Teacher*, 1952, Vol. 36, pp. 9-14.

² Getzels, J. W., "A Psychosociological Framework for the Study of Educational Administration," *Harvard Educational Review*, 1952, 22, 235-246; and Getzels, J. W. and Guba, E. G., "Role, Role Conflict, and Effectiveness: an Empirical Study," *American Sociological Review*, 1954, 19, 164-175.

³ Parsons, Talcott and Shils, E. A. (Eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

empirical investigation: What are the general expectations typically held for the teacher role? How do these expectations accord with the expectations of other roles the teacher occupies? More especially, in what ways are the several sets of expectations inconsistent? What is the effect of such inconsistency on the teacher? What kinds of teachers are most liable to the pressures induced by role conflict in the teaching situation?

PROCEDURES

The initial attempt to answer these questions was based upon extended interviews with 41 teachers drawn from four school systems in two states. The interviews were essentially informal conversations regarding the nature of the teaching task, the behavior the community expects of the teachers, the satisfactions and (more particularly) the dissatisfactions the teacher felt, and so on.

The interview was reviewed for material to serve as the basis for a group instrument or instruments which would measure both situational and personalistic aspects of role conflict. It was noted that a great number of expressed dissatisfactions were couched in more or less explicit terms as involving some degree of incongruence in expectations. Other dissatisfactions could reliably be assumed to have their genesis in such incongruence. Such dissatisfactions were formulated into instrument items, and 71 of the items were ultimately utilized in the construction of an instrument.

It was also found that with relatively few exceptions, these dissatisfactions could be grouped about three crucial areas, each stemming from a role a teacher may be said to occupy in addition to the teacher role. The following are the three major areas of conflict identified by the interviews, together with sample instrument items formulated for each area:

1. *The Socio-economic role.* In most communities teachers are assumed to be members of at least a quasi-professional group for whom middle-class standards of living are expected. However, in comparison with persons for whom similar standards are required, the teacher receives remuneration inadequate for conforming to these expectations. Many of the specific strains felt by the teachers could be traced to this conflict, arising not alone because they are underpaid but because they are expected to maintain standards of tastes and living which are out of reach in terms of the salaries they receive.

Fifteen items representing this area were included in the instrument, of which the following is an example:

15. Although the community expects a teacher to maintain the same standard of living as, say a minor executive or a suc-

cessful salesman, the salary typically paid a teacher is too small to make this possible.

2. *The Citizen Role.* The adult members of a community are generally assumed to be responsible citizens whose judgment regarding their own conduct may be trusted. The teacher, however, is frequently not granted the same confidence with respect to his public and private conduct. He may, for example, be required to participate with more vigor in church affairs than are his neighbors, but with less vigor in political matters than his own beliefs (or for that matter, good citizenship) require. Thus, although the teacher resides in the community, his citizenship may be only second class, since the expectations placed upon him in his role as teacher restrict the degrees of freedom of his role as citizen.

Twenty-eight items representing this area were included in the instrument, of which the following is an example:

71. While almost no one ever concerns himself with the conduct of the average individual unless he seriously violates the customs and conventions of the community, many people are constantly on guard to be certain that teachers behave appropriately at all times.

3. *The Expert or Professional Role.* The teacher is theoretically a specially trained person with expertness in a particular field of competence. The community expects certification of his professional preparation and status. In practice, however, the teacher's professional standing and prerogatives as an expert may be seriously challenged. The school administrator may encroach upon him by prescribing more or less minutely what he may or may not do. Even more threatening, the community itself may dictate classroom content and procedures not only without consulting the teacher but sometimes in direct opposition to the teacher's best professional judgment. Thus the conflict: the teacher is expected to be a professional person in a special field of competence but he is expected to submit to others at a crucial point in his own field of expertness.

Twenty-eight items representing this area were included in the instrument, of which the following are examples:

12. While many parents expect the teacher to discipline their children as well as to educate them, these same parents are often resentful of the disciplinary methods employed, even when those methods are justified.

The instrument consisting of 71 such items was designed to measure two aspects of role conflict: (1) the situational aspect, i.e., the

extent to which the situation described in each item exists in the given school situation, and (2) the personalistic aspect, i.e., the extent to which the teachers in the given situation felt personally troubled by the conflict, if it existed.

The respective measures were obtained by requiring each respondent to make two judgments regarding each item as follows:

- (1) The statement as made would be agreed to at my school by:
 - 0—practically none of the instructors
 - 1—a small proportion of the instructors
 - 2—some of the instructors
 - 3—a considerable number of the instructors
 - 4—many of the instructors
 - 5—very many of the instructors
- (2) The situation described in the item troubles me:
 - 0—not at all
 - 1—to a small degree
 - 2—to some degree
 - 3—to a considerable degree
 - 4—to a great degree
 - 5—to a very great degree

In addition to the conflict instrument, a personal questionnaire was developed designed to gather the following four types of data for each respondent: (1) descriptive characteristics, such as age, sex, teaching experience, etc., (2) socio-economic conditions, such as number of dependents, part-time jobs, etc., (3) extent of integration with the community, such as memberships in churches and clubs, degree of similarity of present community with home community, etc., (4) extent of integration with teacher profession, such as membership in professional societies, satisfaction with teaching as a career, etc.

The instruments were administered to 344 elementary and secondary school teachers in 18 schools comprising six school systems distributed geographically as follows: one secondary school and one elementary school system in a rural community of central Kansas; two secondary schools and one elementary school system in suburban Chicago; and one private, church affiliated secondary school in Chicago. Materials were distributed to teachers through the regular distribution facilities of their schools and were returned directly to the University of Chicago by mail. Of the 344 teachers asked to participate, 166 or approximately 48 per cent responded. The proportion of returns from the schools varied from 31 to 92 per cent.

Findings and Discussion. The findings may conveniently be presented under two headings:

1. Situational aspects. Do the role conflicts represented by the items of the present instrument vary from one teaching situation to another? Do these variations fall into systematic patterns? Are the patterns, if they exist, related to known differential characteristics of the several teaching situations under study?

2. Personalistic aspects. Are there variations among teachers in the extent to which they are troubled by the role conflicts as represented by the items of the present role conflict instrument? Are these variations systematic in terms of known differences in the personal characteristics of the teacher?

Situational Aspects. An analysis of the responses, school by school and item by item, indicates that the items tend to exhibit three markedly different distributions or patterns, and that these patterns are related to certain differential characteristics of the schools involved. These three patterns will be referred to as *situationally independent*, *situationally variant*, and *situationally specific*.

The *situationally independent* conflict is characterized by a high total mean over all schools, and low variability among schools. That is, almost all teachers in all schools agreed that the conflict described by the item existed in their teaching situation. Four examples of such items are given in Table 1.

TABLE I: MEAN SCORES FOR FOUR SELECTED SITUATIONALLY INDEPENDENT ITEMS*

Item No.	All Schools	High School For Item	Low School For Item	Item
7	2.8	3.0	2.6	While teachers understand that they act as parent surrogates, parents expect teachers to set a better example for the children than the parents themselves are willing to set.
15	2.7	3.2	2.0	Although the community expects a teacher to maintain the same standard of living as, say, a minor executive or a successful salesman, the salary typically paid a teacher is too small to make this possible.
12	2.1	2.5	1.7	While many parents expect the teacher to discipline their children as well as to educate them, these same parents are often resentful of the disciplinary methods employed, even when those methods are justified.
18	2.0	2.2	1.7	While the plumber who operated a shoeshine shop in his spare time would be lauded by the community as an energetic citizen and a good provider, the teacher who attempted to emulate his example would be severely criticized for conduct unworthy of his social position.

*The means shown give the mean rating for the item on a scale ranging from zero to five.

It will be noted that the total means for these items exceed 2.0 without exception, and that for each item, the range in school means as judged from the means achieved in the high and low school is relatively low. These items are apparently representative of the readily recognized conflicts which are inherent in the current teaching situation and which are independent of current community conditions.

The *situationally variant* conflict is characterized by a high mean over all schools, but relatively greater variability among schools than the situationally independent items. These conflicts are apparently found to a considerable extent in all teaching situations, but they may be sharply aggravated or alleviated by current community conditions. Four examples of such items are given in Table 2. Again, as with the items of Table 1, total means are in excess of 2.0. The range of school

TABLE II: MEAN SCORES FOR FOUR SELECTED SITUATIONALLY
VARIANT ITEMS*

Item No.	All Schools	High School For Item	Low School For Item	Item
62	2.8	3.9	2.2	While many wage earners in the community are able to purchase their own homes, teachers usually cannot afford to do so in view of the low salaries they receive.
60	2.7	3.8	2.0	While almost no one would object if the banker occasionally stopped in a tavern for a drink, such conduct would be considered inappropriate for the teacher by the community.
48	2.5	3.3	1.5	While most family breadwinners take pride in being able to support a family single-handed, the teacher who supports a family may have to depend on the income of some other member of the family to make ends meet.
26	2.1	3.1	1.4	While the average person is usually free to experiment with places of amusement and entertainment, making his selection from among them in terms of his own choice, the teacher can go only to "nice" places, i.e., approved by the community at large.

*The means shown give the mean rating for the item on a scale ranging from zero to five.

means is considerably more extensive, however. Thus, the range in score of Table 1 is 0.4, 1.2, 0.8 and 0.5, respectively, while the range of Table 2 items is 1.7, 1.8, 1.8, and 1.7 respectively.

Since these institutionally adaptive items are presumably liable

to aggravation or amelioration as a function of variations in local conditions, one would expect to find a correspondence between differential school responses to items and differential teaching situations. That this is indeed so may easily be verified by reference to the items of Table 2. Items 60 and 26 for example, dealing with conflict in the citizenship area, are scored highest by the teachers of a rural secondary school in a relatively isolated community where teacher visibility is quite high. Items 62 and 48, dealing with socio-economic conflicts, are scored highest by the teachers in the school system with the lowest salary schedule of any of the systems represented in the present study.

Finally, the *situationally specific* conflict is characterized by a relatively low mean over all schools but a rather high mean in one or two schools. The items falling into this pattern seem to represent conflicts which are not generally prevalent in the teaching situation as such but which are a function of some particular school or community idiosyncrasy. Four examples of such items are given in Table 3. It will be noted that total means are all less than 1.5, and that the means for the low schools, never in excess of 0.6, are practically

TABLE III: MEAN SCORES FOR FOUR SELECTED SITUATIONALLY SPECIFIC ITEMS*

Item No.	All Schools	High School Item For	Low School Item For	Item
20	1.5	3.7	0.4	While in most cases a working contract is a private arrangement known only to the contractor and his employer, the administration often sees fit to publish the details of a teacher's contract.
53	1.4	3.3	0.2	While marriage is a normal and reasonable goal for most persons, many teachers are forbidden to marry by contractual sanction.
45	1.0	2.6	0.6	While the introduction of any religious influence into the schools is often viewed with alarm by the community, there is still an insistence that the teacher be a churchgoer, in fact, that he attend what is for the community an "approved" church.
42	0.4	2.6	0.2	Even though dancing may be an accepted form of social recreation in the community, the teacher who dances is often thought of as somewhat immoral.

*The means shown give the mean rating for the item on a scale ranging from zero to five.

negligible. The means for the high schools are out of proportion to these other values, however, the range between low and high school means never being less than 2.0 for this table.

An analysis of the correspondence between item responses and school situations may also be made for Table 3. Thus, Item 20, dealing with the publication of teacher contracts, is scored highest by the teachers in the single school system where such publication is the usual practice. Item 53, dealing with conflicts arising from restraints placed upon teachers with respect to marriage, is scored highest in the teaching situation whose contracts include a provision forbidding the teacher to marry while in the employ of that community. Items 45 and 42, dealing with enforced church attendance and on dancing as a form of social recreation, are scored highest by teachers in the school where church attendance is "taken for granted" and whose rules frown upon dancing.

The salient conclusions from the foregoing instrumental findings which are of particular significance may be summarized as follows:

1. Some role conflicts are found to have equal impact in all teaching situations and are independent of local conditions. These conflicts which have been termed *situationally independent*, seem to inhere in the teaching situation as such, at least as that situation is constituted today.

2. Some role conflicts are found to have relatively great impact in all teaching situations, but may be substantially aggravated or ameliorated at the local level. These conflicts, which have been termed *situationally variant*, seem to be a function of the interaction of local conditions inhering to some extent in the general teaching situation.

3. Some conflicts are unrecognized in most teaching situations but seem to have considerable impact in one or two local situations. These conflicts, which have been termed *situationally specific*, are only of local importance, and probably bear no relationship to the general teaching situation.

Personalistic Aspects. Significant differential personal reactions to the role conflicts were found not only over all schools but within each school where the extent of situational conflict was the same for all respondents. A measure of the personal reactions to the conflict was obtained, it will be recalled, by requiring each respondent to indicate on a six point scale how personally troubled he felt by the situation described in each item of the role conflict instrument. Some individuals, though acknowledging the existence of the conflict in his school, seem to be able to shrug it off without any personal involve-

ment, others are greatly troubled by the conflict. Now of course variability in test response might result by chance, and is in any case of no great moment if unrelated to other observations. The crucial question is to what extent are these differential reactions or liability to role conflict as measured by the present instrument systematically and meaningfully related to other personal difference among the teachers.

To answer this question, the relationship between the individual characteristics obtained in the Personal Questionnaire and the role conflict scores was studied as follows: Comparison groups were formed for each personal characteristic, either by dividing the distribution at the mean for continuous variables such as age and length of teaching experience, or by taking advantage of natural groupings found in categorical items such as sex. A mean role conflict score was computed for each comparison group, and these were then compared by means of Fisher's *t* test or by analysis of variance where appropriate.

On the basis of this procedure, the following personal characteristics were found to be associated with significantly *higher* conflict scores:

1. Male teachers, as compared with female teachers, $P < .05$.
2. Teachers with one dependent, as compared to teachers with no dependents or with more than one dependent, $P < .01$.
3. Teachers who have part-time jobs in addition to their teaching duties as compared to teachers who do not have part-time jobs, $P < .01$.
4. Teachers who come from communities which they perceive to be different from the community in which they teach, as compared to teachers who come from communities which they perceive to be similar to the one in which they teach, $P < .01$.
5. Teachers who feel restricted in their social lives, as compared to teachers who do not feel restricted, $P < .01$.
6. Teachers who have fewer friends among persons in the community than they would like to have, as compared to teachers with a sufficient number of such friends, $P < .001$.
7. Teachers who feel that certain groups of their fellow teachers have a more personal influence with the administration than do other groups, as compared to teachers who do not feel, $P < .001$.
8. Teachers who feel that their relationships with the administration are not as adequate and satisfying as they might be, as compared to teachers who do not feel, $P < .001$.
9. Teachers who would not again enter the teaching profession if they had such a choice, as compared to teachers who would again choose to teach, $P < .001$.

Clearly, there are systematic relationships between certain personal characteristics of teachers and their liability to role conflicts in the teaching situation. Of critical importance here is the fact that the observed relationships are entirely logical and meaningful. Consider, for example, the sex difference. Since teaching is often thought of as a woman's profession, it is not surprising to find that men should be more liable to the conflicts in the teaching situation than women. For women, teaching is a respected occupation often representing a top level vocational goal. They can be more tolerant of the inconsistencies in expectations since it is not likely they could do better professionally elsewhere, and in any case, many of the constraints represented by the expectations are already placed upon females *qua* females anyway.

Or consider the two items dealing with economic status, i.e., the number of dependents and part-time employment. Clearly a teacher who must seek a part-time job in order to make ends meet is more likely to be conflicted in a situation that pays little but requires a relatively high standard of living than is one who for one reason or another does not need to seek such extra income. In this connection also the item regarding dependents is suggestive. It is interesting that greater conflict is felt by those with none or with more than one. Teachers with no dependents are in the main single and are quite able to maintain expected standards on their salary. The teacher with several dependents is older, probably higher in the salary scale, and probably has learned to make the necessary compromises. It is the relatively younger person with one dependent trying to set up appropriate standards of living who feels the burden of the conflict most keenly.

Similarly for the three items dealing with community relationships. It is entirely logical that teachers who do not identify with the community in which they are teaching, who find it difficult to make friends with the community, and who feel most restraint in their social life should find themselves most troubled by the conflicts in the situation as measured by the role conflict instrument. Again, the relationship between the teacher "in" group and "out" group so far as the administration is concerned and the extent of liability to role conflict is entirely consistent. It is the "out" group that might logically be expected to score higher in role conflict, and indeed they do. Finally, it is the dissatisfied teacher, the one who "would not again enter the teaching profession," who might be expected to be more conflicted. The obtained data from the present instrument confirm these expectations.

Conclusions: The study attempts to apply certain elements of role theory to the analysis of the relationship of role expectations, role conflicts, and individual characteristics in the teaching situation. After extensive interviews, a role conflict instrument was developed which permitted the simultaneous measurement of both the situational and the personalistic aspects of conflict. On the basis of the data obtained with this instrument, the following conclusions seem appropriate:

1. The teacher is defined both by core expectations common to the teaching situation in general and by significantly varying expectations that are a function of local school and community conditions.

2. Many of the expectations attached to the teacher role are inconsistent with expectations attached to other roles the teacher typically occupies. That is, the teaching situation is in many critical elements characterized by role conflict.

3. The nature of the role conflicts is systematically related to certain differences among schools and among communities.

4. The existence of role conflicts may be taken as evidence that the teacher role is imperfectly integrated with other roles. The consequence of role conflict may be frustration for the individual teacher and ineffectiveness for the educational institution.

5. There are differential reactions among teachers in the extent of their liability to (or being troubled by) role conflict in the teaching situation. These differential reactions are systematically and meaningfully related to certain personal characteristics of the teachers.

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THE ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE AND SATISFACTION IN TEACHING*

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A school system is a social system, i.e., an integrated system of roles organizing the activities of its members toward common goals. The administrative organization of the school is a sub-system, within the larger system, in which the roles of teacher and administrator are in relationships of subordination and superordination. Ego's role is defined by the "role-expectations" of every alter, as Parsons and Shils observe.¹ The role-expectation is a complimentary relationship between ego and alter, such that the actions and expectations of ego are oriented toward the expectations of alter and alter's expectations act as sanctions to ego. Thus the role-expectations organizes the need-dispositions of a number of individuals into a systematic whole so that social ends are maximized.

One of the chief motivations of individuals in an organization is the satisfaction of their individual needs. Means toward this satisfaction are scarce, so that their distribution must be organized in accord with the group values. This organization is a function of the system of role-expectations. Role-expectations allow alter to predict the behavior of ego and act toward ego in an appropriate way. It is impossible for an integrated social system to function unless such predictions are possible, since, there being no secure basis for his actions toward ego, such action becomes difficult at best. A disruption of the system of role-expectations should thus result in a disintegration of the organization, rendering it unable to achieve its goals and satisfy the needs of its members.

The school administrator and the teachers may be seen as participating in a system of reciprocal role-expectations. One source of disturbance to this system is perception by teachers of administrative behavior other than that defined by the role-expectations. The teachers will be unable to predict accurately the behavior of their administrators, and they will be unable to act effectively toward them in the administrative situation. The teachers will attempt to exert negative sanctions against the administrators.

* This study was carried out under the auspices of the Midwest Administration Center, Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, University of Chicago.

¹ Parsons, Talcott, and Shils, E. A. (ed.) *Toward a General Theory of Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

In an administrative situation, the exertion of negative sanctions takes a peculiar form. The administrator has the power to punish or dismiss those under his authority, but there is no formal provision for the exercise by subordinates of negative sanctions against superiors. Exercise of such sanctions will be *sub rosa* and will probably be taken as grounds for punishment or dismissal. Thus the formal structure of the administrative system conflicts with the system of expectations, restricting the reciprocal relationship between expectation and action.

The lack of ability to predict the behavior of the administrator will give rise to tension with regard to possible forms of action by the administrator and the proper form of action by the teacher toward the administrator.

The teacher thus finds himself in a situation in which he has no basis for a coherent system of action and loses his orientation toward his administrators. He finds himself frustrated in his attempts to apply sanctions to remedy the tension-producing situation, heightening the degree of tension.

One index of presence or absence of tension would seem to be the expression of dissatisfaction or satisfaction respectively with the situation in which it is produced. It would be expected that in situations where teachers' perception and expectations regarding administrative behavior are divergent, dissatisfaction with teaching would be expressed by the teachers because of the high degree of tension generated. Where there is convergence of expectations and perceptions, one would expect satisfaction to be expressed because of the secure relationships enjoyed by the teachers.

On the basis of these theoretical considerations, certain predictions can be made, serving as hypotheses for study. The following hypotheses were used:

1. Convergence of teachers' role-expectations toward the administrator and their perceptions of his behavior will be accompanied by an expression by these teachers of satisfaction with the teaching situation.
2. Divergence of teachers' role-expectations toward the administrator and their perceptions of his behavior will be accompanied by an expression by these teachers of dissatisfaction with the teaching situation.
3. The level of teaching satisfaction is dependent upon convergence or divergence of expectations and perceptions of their fulfillment and is independent of the nature of the expectations.
4. A unit change in the degree of perceived expectation-fulfillment

by the principal will produce a significantly greater change in expressed teaching satisfaction than will a unit change in the degree of perceived expectation fulfillment by the superintendent.

The first three hypotheses emerge directly from the theoretical treatment previously presented. The fourth hypothesis was based on the additional assumption that teachers and their principals are in closer relationship than teachers and their superintendent, so that action by the principal would be more significant to the teacher than action by the superintendent.

METHODOLOGY

The sample was neither random nor representative. The study was carried out in five school systems chosen on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study and their accessibility. One system was in a small city and, in its nature and problems, may be said to be an urban system. One was in a small rural community. Two were suburban systems. All of these are longer established systems. The fifth was recently established in a new suburban development. Three contained both elementary and junior high school programs and two contained only elementary programs. The faculties of these systems varied widely in preparation, experience, community background, and job mobility. But no more than this was known of the sample so that it was impossible to control a number of important variables.

A questionnaire was mailed to the 368 teachers employed in the five systems. There was a 53% return. The questionnaire consisted of two parts. One part attempted to measure the perceptions and expectations of the respondents regarding the principal and the superintendent; the other sought to establish the degree of satisfaction of the respondent with the teaching situation. The first part presented the respondent with thirteen items describing situations in which interaction between teacher and superintendent or teacher and principal is a necessary element. In each, the situation was briefly described and the respondent presented with alternatives which described different types of administrative behavior. This behavior was categorized as democratic, autocratic, and laissez-faire, following the work of Lewin and his associates.²

The autocratic administrator was defined as locating the decision-

² Lippitt, R., Adler D., and White, R. "An Experiment with Young People under Democratic, Autocratic, and Laissez-faire Atmospheres," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

making function in his own person, exercising close supervision over subordinates, and dealing with them as individuals rather than as group members. The democratic administrator was defined as locating the decision-making function in appropriate faculty groups, that is, one who deals with his staff chiefly as members of groups and gives the teacher considerable latitude in problem solution. The laissez-faire administrator was defined as avoiding decision-making by himself or his faculty. He neither attempts to tell his faculty what to do nor encourages their initiative and capacity for action.

The number of alternatives following each item in the questionnaire was not fixed, but was set by the number of possible administrative actions of the three types which could be determined for each situation. The respondent was asked to check the responses in four ways. He was to indicate the kind of action he would expect of the superintendent and of the principal, respectively as well as the kind of action he thought each of them took within their respective spheres. Thus comparative data was sought with regard to the teachers' role-expectations and perceptions of role behavior of both superintendent and principal.

The second part of the questionnaire was designed to measure general satisfaction. Nineteen factors producing teaching satisfaction discovered by Chase were listed.³ The respondent was asked to rate each item on five point satisfaction-dissatisfaction scale. Four items were found to parallel closely items on the first part of the questionnaire, so that they were not scored. Adding the ratings of each item gave a general teaching satisfaction score.

In addition to the mailed questionnaire, focused interviews were used with a more limited sample.⁴ It was hoped to obtain more detailed information and greater insight into the processes involved. Because of lack of time and resources and difficulty in obtaining consent to interview, interviewing was conducted in one of the suburban school systems in the larger sample. It is a small system with both elementary and junior high school programs. From the faculty of 45, a systematic sample of 11 was chosen. The interviews lasted from one to two hours, averaging about one and one-half hours. Non-directive techniques were used, but an outline of topics was followed in each interview.

³ Chase, Francis S. "Factors Productive of Satisfaction in Teaching." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Department of Education, 1951.

⁴ Merton, Robert K. and Kendall, P. L. "The Focused Interview," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (1946), 541-557.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

The split-half method was used to test the reliability of each part of the questionnaire, despite the small number of items. The co-efficient of reliability of the first part was .73 for items dealing with the superintendent and .71 for those dealing with the principal. The coefficient of reliability of the second part was .81. The relevance of the observations to the problem is favorable to their validity. But the accuracy of the instrument is difficult to determine. The only indication of the accuracy of the instrument is the high degree of coherence of its results with those derived by the interview method. This indication is of most limited value. The questionnaire has a weakness which diminishes its validity. It does not seem adequately to differentiate between expectations and personal desires and attitudes. Some means must be found to separate this personalistic element from the non-personalistic role-expectations if a valid instrument is to result.

The reliability of the interviews was difficult to determine. The focused interview provides a measure of standardization, but interviewer bias is still a serious problem. However, the specifications for observation were fairly clear. With regard to the validity of the interview data, the data seem relevant. As to their accuracy, only the one interviewer was used, but there was some standardized control. The interview findings are coherent with those of the questionnaire.

THE FINDINGS

In order to test the first and second hypotheses, a corner test for association was used.⁵ Two tests of the relationship between expectation-fulfillment score, and satisfaction score were made, with respect to the roles of both superintendent and principal. The test with regard to the superintendent yielded a quadrant sum of 277 which is statistically significant considerably beyond the 5% level. The test with regard to the principal yielded a quadrant sum of 71, again statistically significant considerably beyond the 5% level. On the basis that for the sample tested, convergence of expectations and perceptions is accompanied by satisfaction in teaching, and divergence of these variables is accompanied by dissatisfaction.

To test the third hypothesis two-by-two tables were set up, one for the data on the superintendent and one for the data on the principal. These showed the mean satisfaction scores categorized by types of expectations and perceptions. The laissez-faire categories were not used because of the small number of cases. A one-criterion

⁵ Olmstead, P. S. and Tukey, J. W. "A Corner Test for Association," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, Vol. 18 (1947), 495-498.

analysis of variance was done on the data contained in each of these tables to determine whether there was any statistically significant variation among these mean satisfaction scores. In each of the two cases a variance was discovered which was statistically significant beyond the 1% level.

Such an analysis allowed no comparisons between mean scores. A multiple comparison method was used to make the six specific comparisons.⁶ A confidence interval testing significance at the 5% level was computed for each of them for both sets of data. This analysis resulted in expected findings, with one exception. Comparisons with data for superintendent and for principal of situations in which expectations were fulfilled and those in which they were not, revealed significantly lower satisfaction scores in the latter case. Comparisons using both sets of data of the situations in which expectations were democratic and perceptions democratic and in which expectations were autocratic and perceptions autocratic revealed no significant difference in mean satisfaction score. When the situation in which expectations are democratic and perceptions autocratic was compared, using both sets of data, with that in which expectations were autocratic and perceptions democratic, the expected relationship was not revealed. The mean satisfaction score was significantly higher in the latter situation than in the former. With this exception, hypothesis 3 is verified, but a definite conclusion cannot be drawn. But the bulk of the data indicates that the fact of perceived fulfillment or nonfulfillment of expectations is associated with the level of satisfaction-dissatisfaction, while the type of expectation or perception in comparable situations of convergence or divergence of expectations and perceptions is not.

To test the fourth hypothesis, a four-by-four table of mean satisfaction scores categorized by quartiles of expectation-fulfillment score for the superintendent and the principal was set up. A bi-variate test of regression revealed that for every unit change in the expectation-fulfillment score for the superintendent, the general satisfaction score changed 2.71 units, while for every unit change in the expectation-fulfillment score for the principal, the general satisfaction score changed 1.53 units. These findings indicate the rejection of the hypothesis. It should be noted, however, that with one exception the school systems studied were small, permitting frequent contact between superintendent and teacher. Therefore, the superintendent,

⁶ Schece, H. "A Method for Judging All Contrasts in the Analysis of Variance," *Biometrika*, 40 (1953), 87-104.

being ascendant, might well have more effect than the principals upon the attitudes of the teachers. For the sample studied, however, the hypothesis must be rejected.

The interview material upholds hypothesis 1 and 2 and does not conflict with hypothesis 4. There is no clear indication regarding hypothesis 3. In addition, the interviews revealed something of the process involved. Teachers perceiving divergence of action from expectation expressed the uncertainty they felt about the relationships with the administrator. They did not know how to predict his actions or how to act toward him. Those perceiving expected behavior revealed a high degree of security in administrative relationships. Teachers in the first group stated that they felt tense and insecure in their jobs because of the uncertainty of the relationship with the administrator. Teachers in the second group spoke of the security of this relationship, and indicated that it played a considerable part in producing their satisfaction with their jobs.

Therefore it would seem that, for the sample investigated, hypothesis 1, 2, and 3 must be accepted, and hypothesis 4 must be rejected. It would seem that usefulness of the methodology has been shown. A more adequately designed investigation using more precise, reliable, and valid methods would be a valuable undertaking.

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BOOK REVIEW

Incest Behavior by Dr. S. Kirson Weinberg. New York: Citadel Press, 1955. 291 pages, \$5.00.

To the man on the street, incest is a problem the discussion of which more properly seems to belong in the psychiatrist's office or in the gloomy recesses of the police court; seldom, if at all, does he realize that there are also sociological implications of tremendous importance. What references there are in the literature beyond the anthropological will be found in the books on psychiatry and abnormal psychology. Dr. Weinberg has attempted to study 203 cases that came to the attention of the authorities in the state of Illinois. As professor of Sociology at Roosevelt University in Chicago, he was in a position to study these cases from the standpoint of the social characteristics of the participants, the home setting, the family setting, the personality development of the participants, the effect upon the participants, the effect upon the family before and after detection—all of which aspects he has copiously illustrated with excerpts from the case studies.

The preceding topics cover seven of the thirteen chapters in his book. His other chapters cover the incest problem, the prevalence and pressure of

the incest taboo, and the frequency of incest behavior as well as incest taboos in family structure, and other interpretations of incest behavior. Dr. Weinberg recognizes that, statistically, incest is apparently of relatively infrequent occurrence but he recognizes further, as do all practicing sociologists and psychiatrists, that the statistical incidence of the problem is not the total incidence. His book does not attempt to cover either the amount or the effect of incest that does not appear in the statistics. It is recognized that there are some cases of incest the existence of which is a closely-kept secret between the participants; there are other cases detected by people outside of the participants, or where one of the participants has failed to keep the secret, but not all of such detected cases are reported to the authorities. To what extent such unreported cases are present, or potential, sociological as well as psychiatric problems would have to be the subject of another volume.

Dr. Weinberg is to be commended for his careful and readable presentation of a limited segment of this problem, the very discussion of which is itself frequently tabooed. His final chapters, dealing with incest taboos and family structure, and other interpretations of incest behavior, flow naturally into his summarizing concluding chapter. This is a book that the practicing sociologist and, especially, the social welfare worker will certainly want to read. The extensive bibliography will be particularly helpful.

Ralph E. Pickett

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